/140 cont./

266 I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a [237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.

[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

[231] [439] Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances, but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

251 The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 237 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and 535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a 648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

≠AOIN
NARON
NOGAO

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[189] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gâus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.

252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into

[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gâus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gâus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!hei*s either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*

224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!hei*s (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-//ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

[237 276]

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

[513] [132]

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

[423]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

her hind leg raised, looking wild with her cocoa-colored mane 224
that stood stiff and straight along the bowed crest of her neck,
wild with her great horns sharp enough to prick your finger,
and her pale, half-open eyes.

Gai squatted beside her and began to stroke her udder. He 224
squeezed a teat and milk squirted into his palm, and as he 272
licked it off, Ukwane squatted beside him. The gemsbok
was big enough for both men to squat at her udder milking,
Ukwane under her lifted thigh. I was told that when the men
had first followed her, they had come upon a gemsbok calf
wedged high up in the fork of a tree. A leopard had killed it
and left it there, and as the men tried to climb the tree to
pull it down, robbing the leopard, the mother gemsbok had
reappeared and challenged them, so they had killed her in-
stead. That is why her udder was filled with milk. Her beige
hide, we noticed, had been raked by the leopard's claws.

Almost everyone came by with a palm outstretched for a
squirt of milk. Ukwane called for me to come, too, and, strok-
ing the milk veins in her udder the way one does when milk-
ing a cow, he milked a white stream into my palm which I
licked away. The milk was strong and rank and gamy, not at
all like the mild, sweet-tasting milk of cows. It smelled like
the intestines, too, perhaps because the animal was dead, per-
haps because the odor of intestines and the milk both came
from the strong, harsh grass of the country. Yet it was liquid,
and the Bushmen milked her dry.

Afterward, Gai and Ukwane butchered her, Gai preparing 224
himself by casually sharpening his knife on her narrow, heart- 237
shaped hoof. Always working so that her wounded side was
up, they cut her skin free, not spilling a drop of blood. Near
the carcass they dug a shallow pit, which they lined with the
skin, hair side down, and as blood would well up into the cuts
they made butchering, they would collect it and place it in

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this bowl. The carcass itself, now red and pink and white, they rolled onto a bed of leaves and branches to keep it clean and cut off the front and hind legs of the upper side, forming a bowl of the carcass so that no liquid would escape. They pulled out the intestine, cleaning each length carefully, first squeezing out all fecal matter, then turning the intestine inside out over a stick and scraping it clean. A lot of liquid ran from the intestines, which was saved with the blood in the bowl of the body.

Next, the two men removed the rumen, the first stomach of ruminant animals, where the grass they bolt hurriedly is kept in quantities to be coughed up and chewed thoroughly when the animal is lying in the shade. Ukwane lifted the rumen out carefully, like a great water sack that might burst suddenly, and hurried with it to the pit lined with the skin. There he slit it and water gushed out, every drop saved by the skin. Ukwane and Gai removed handfuls of the contents, a yellow, pulpy mass of partially digested grass, and they squeezed each handful dry into bowls, tsama-melon rinds, and ostrich-egg water-containers that the women had brought forward. They did not mind two great white worms that were discovered living in the rumen, for as soon as enough water was collected, the people all had a long, satisfying drink. Some was pressed on me by Tsetchwe; I could not bring myself to drink it, but I did taste it and found that it was not too unpleasant, although it also tasted strongly as intestines smell. It was fresh, however, it was only the liquid from grass, and I thought that if I had no other water I too could drink the water of rumen.

Also, the people drank the blood, scooping it out in handfuls to their faces. Soon they were stained with it; the three old women looked very savage, and Gishe, our interpreter,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: "I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the rumen and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"Walks-Before-the-Sun," was just starting its journey across 821
the sky. This planet, which we call the morning star and which is a different one from time to time, rises just before the sun and walks all day across the sky looking for shade. Every day, say Bushmen, the sun overtakes it and scorches it, and though people walking can cut branches from trees to [293]
put up over their heads as parasols, the poor star finds no branches in the sky.

Over the moon the Firewood Star was sinking too. This is a real star, the star by which the Bushmen, when they see it rising, can tell if they have enough firewood to last the night.

When the sun was up, when the moon and all the stars 281
were gone, we went as usual to the werf, where we found 237
Ukwane curing fox skins with urine, the only liquid he had. It was not fresh urine either; it was rank, saved for days by all the people, collected in tsama rinds. We had noticed a stench, but we had not known what it was. To be certain, we asked Ukwane, and he said: "Water."

"What water?" we asked, knowing there was none.

"The water that all the people in the Kalahari have to use."

"Is it urine?"

"Yes, it is," he said.

The skins were from five Delalandes or long-eared foxes which Ukwane had snared three seasons ago. He had stretched and scraped the skins but had not cured them because until now he had not had the time. A few days ago he had told his people to begin saving urine so that he could cure and soften the hides. They had, and he now poured urine onto each skin, letting it soak, then rubbed the skin hard between his hands. He repeated this process again and again, 281
working one skin at a time, and before long the skins were moist all through, and when they were dry they were as soft as chamois. Ukwane said that he was going to trade the soft

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415] the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237 made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looKed up 222
to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far 136
above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery 222
root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the 136
hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of Au- 262
gust, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is 222
brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, 271
and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the 237
juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and 222
at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

142
291
516
589
888

Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

142
291
301
302
237

[p. 176 (6)]

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

224
182

[621
262
578]

237

become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

237 and bowstrings, horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying, and into clothes. Men wear only a breech-clout. Women wear modesty aprons, often one in front and one behind, as well as a piece of soft skin, clasped between their buttocks and thighs, when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man, he will give it to his wife and do without—for, to a woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it she carries the roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night, her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

291
281
[841]
[482]

[p. 57]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

Made and used by men

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nos* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed */gnashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

136 Order Coleoptera

Blister beetles 2 spp.

Click beetles 6 spp.

Dung beetle 3 spp.

Poisonous beetles 2 spp.

Other beetles 2 spp.

136 262 Insects do not play an important role in the diet. One species of antlion (determination pending) had an annual outbreak around the end of November. Tens of thousands pupate within a 36 hour period and the Bushmen eat them by the hundreds. In 1963, the outbreak occurred on November, 24, in 1964, on December 3.

Three different species of click beetle were eaten in March, 1964. These were considered a delicacy rather than a staple. The Bushmen said that certain grasshoppers and caterpillars were edible but they were not observed to eat them.

262 237 Honey is considered by all authors to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951). It is curious therefore that it was rarely observed to be collected or eaten.

136 278 By far the most important insects for subsistence are the two[1] species of beetle used by the Bushmen for poisoning

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[1]Possibly as many as eight species of poison grub are used by the !Kung Bushmen! Koch (1958) collected five new species that the !Kung said were used for poisoning arrows. (See Shaw et al., 1963).

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] [415] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow section of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is [177] commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 371 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 422 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

HUNTING

224 [883] [462] Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

411 The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons. The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some- [237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kũ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.